

On the Skull and Portraits of George Buchanan

BY

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Oliver and Boyd

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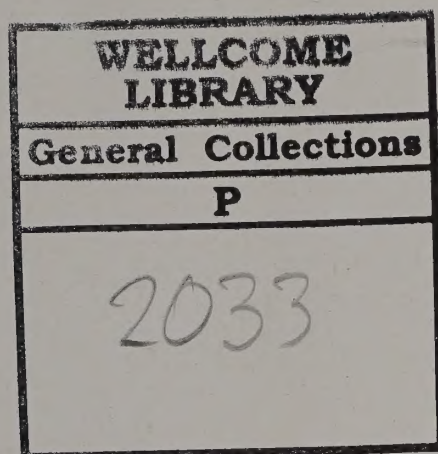
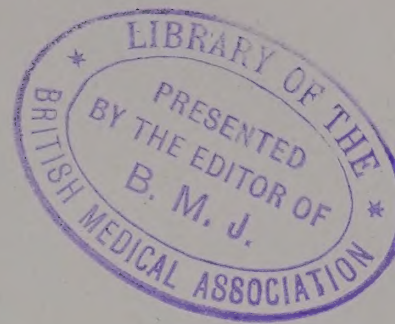
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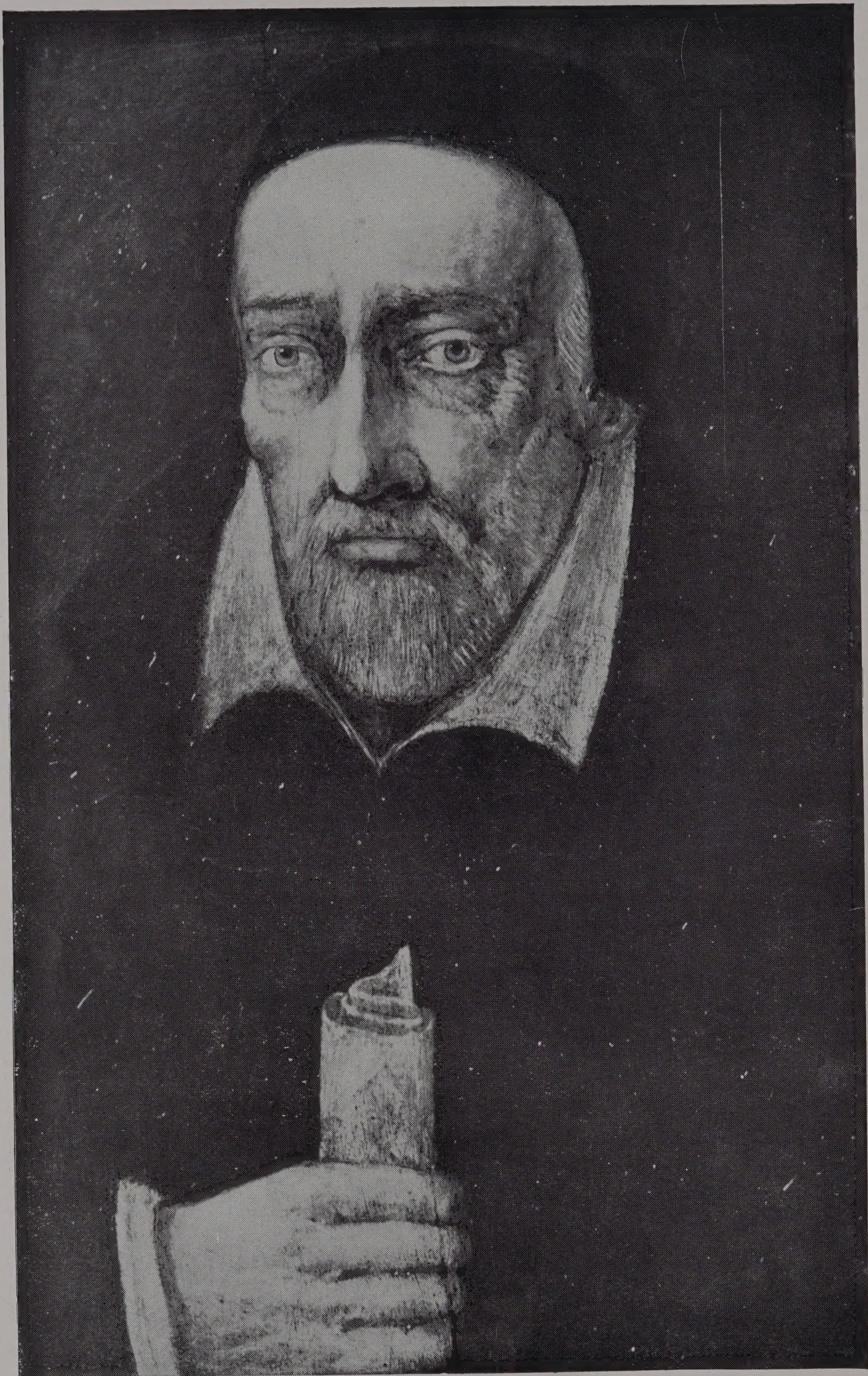
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Highly idealised portrait of the Bronckhorst type, in the Senate - Hall, Edinburgh University. Note the disappearance of the lobe of the left ear. Probably a rather late copy.

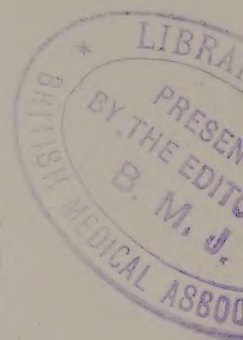
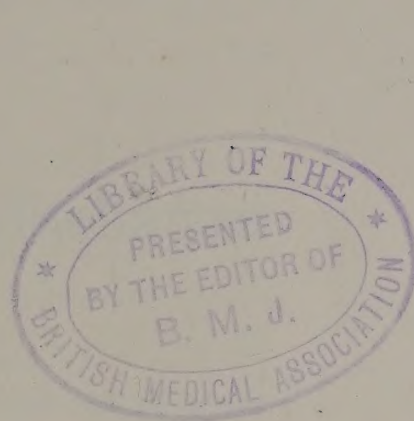
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The Henderson Trust Lectures.—No. V.



On the
Skull and Portraits of George Buchanan

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On the Skull and Portraits of George Buchanan

By KARL PEARSON, F.R.S.

I EXPECT that many of those present will consider it an act of great rashness that a southerner should venture into the metropolis of northern Britain and dare, a mere scientist, to talk about a man whom many Scots look upon as Scotland's greatest scholar, leading historian and the first writer in Scotland to propound a political philosophy.

But I would remind you that for good or ill we cannot separate the history of our two countries. Buchanan played a large part—a larger part than some of us recognise—in those still obscure proceedings which, starting at Langside, were continued at York and Hampton Court, and culminated only in the final scene at Fotheringhay. Mary Stewart's history is as much English as Scottish history, and the story of both countries would not only have been different, but differently written, had the Tudor blood been as dominant in Mary as in Elizabeth; while the psychological bearing of the extent to which Mary did inherit Tudor characteristics has been too often overlooked by the historians of both countries.

The time has come when we are justified in taking, not a heptarchical view of the history of Britain, but a British view, which would recognise that local histories can be interwoven into a wider history of our united countries. Queen Mary, George Buchanan, Darnley, Moray, Bothwell, and the rest of the Scottish actors of those days really played their parts on a wider stage than local history provided; that is not only the source of their perennial interest, but the excuse for my appearance and choice of a subject here this afternoon.

Previous lecturers for the Henderson Trust have told us that while much of the old phrenology is no longer acceptable in the light of modern science, yet increasing acquaintance with the function of brain centres may lead us, not so much from observations on the external surface of the skull as from the markings on the endocranial cast, to suggestions—not to use too emphatic a word—as to character and abilities. I should like at once to state that this is not to be the line of my inquiry this afternoon. I think an endocranial cast of

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George Buchanan's skull would be of interest, but I have not ventured to take it nor to ask for it to be taken.

I want to put before you something much less abstruse, and more direct in its appeal to your imaginations.

In the rough and tumble of everyday experience, in trusting to our fellow-men, in the appointment of colleagues, assistants and servants, and even in the choice of acquaintances and friends, we are largely influenced by our reading of character from physiognomy. We may admit it or we may not, but it is a fact that facial expression draws our confidence or serves as a warning mark. The reading of physiognomy is not a science with its ascertained rules; it is not wholly, I believe, a result of past experience, but rather an instinct modified by experience. We are reduced to the sentiment of Martial, as englished by Tom Brown:

"I do not love thee, Doctor Fell,
The reason why I cannot tell;
But this alone I know full well,
I do not love thee, Doctor Fell."

Even a Christchurch undergraduate is susceptible to facial expression!

Probably in judging half-unconsciously by physiognomy we are right in nine cases out of ten, and badly wrong on the tenth occasion. We should do better, if we judge by the dynamic expression as given by the film of an individual rather than by the static expression of a bust or portrait.

The reconstruction from the skull of the head is a branch of science, which has of recent years made some progress, but while the facial expression does to some extent depend on the form of the skull, and the strength of the musculature which can be partially judged from the skull markings, we are left wholly in the dark as to those facial lines which leave no permanent traces on the skull itself, and which have so much to do with our judgment of character.

Why is it that we desire to see and to acquire portraits of great men, or of the individual men, we treat as our personal heroes or saints? I think it undoubtedly arises from the fact that a portrait, at any rate a good portrait, helps us to a truer characterisation, a truer appreciation, than many pages of verbal description. We are thrown back on our instinctive judgment of physiognomy. I believe that at present one of the chief services which can be done by aid of the skull of a great man is to find out from it which portrait, if portraits exist, truly represents him. With all due reverence I would exhume the skull of Shakespeare, of Newton or of Milton, and then we should be able to standardise their

portraiture, and say: Here is the true man, and what would also be of interest: There is the artistic liar!

Something of this kind has been done in my Laboratory for two historic skulls—that of Sir Thomas Browne and that of Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley; and I may be permitted to indicate here how the method serves to differentiate good from bad portraiture.

We may take a portrait of Jeremy Bentham and fit it with the significant lines of his "Auto-Icon." The mummified head, when the drooping mandible is brought into touch with the upper jaw, gives a quite passable fit, showing that the artist was reasonably truthful. Again we may make a contrast between two portraits of Sir Thomas Browne fitted with the outline of his skull adjusted as closely as possible to the two representations. The earlier, or Allix, portrait agrees well with the skull, while the later portrait, almost certainly painted after his death for the Royal College of Physicians, exaggerates his low-frontal into "high-brow" intellectuality. The artist was quite clearly an incorrigible idealiser. (Slides shown at the lecture.)

Can we apply this method to obtain further light on George Buchanan as judged from his portraits? To attempt this will be the purpose of the lecture this afternoon. But before we proceed further with the portraits, it is wise to inquire what evidence we have for the authenticity of the skull.

Buchanan died on 28th September 1582, aged 76 years.

There is nothing in the skull to contradict this age. It is the calvarium of an old man; there is no mandible, which would have told us something additional, but the teeth in the upper jaw must have been present at death, although the alveolar border has extensively receded.

The bony walls of the skull have been reduced in parts to the thinness almost of a railway ticket in a manner that is very characteristic of extreme age, and familiar to those who have handled large numbers of crania. The zygomatic arches, at least to judge from the one that is complete, could never have been massive and have dwindled with age almost to the thickness of a quill. The owner of the skull could hardly have had prominent cheek bones, except by extreme thinness of the flesh.

Coming to the history of the skull itself, we naturally find its first purloining—as in the case of Sir Thomas Browne's—involved in obscurity. It is the more so, perhaps, in this case, as the purloiner was a man of position in Edinburgh—no other than the Rev. John Adamson, Principal Regent of the University from 1623 to his death in 1653. Adamson was a great admirer of Buchanan, but he was hardly likely to state,

during his official life, how and when he had despoiled Buchanan's grave. Puissant as we all recognise the Principal of a University to be, humbly as we obey his dictates, yet we perceive that his autocracy—wide as it is—does not include body-snatching as a prerogative. There are some things which even the Principal of a University cannot do publicly, but we may be fairly sure that when he does them *sub rosa*, he will carry them through successfully, and obtain exactly what he is seeking. I think we need not doubt that Adamson, having set his heart on Buchanan's skull, was not likely to fail in getting the actual article.

Adamson was educated at St Andrews, being born in the year 1576; he held, I think, a professorship of philosophy there, but in 1598 became a regent in Edinburgh, holding his Chair there till 1604, when he accepted a ministerial call to North Berwick, being afterwards translated to Libberton and returning to Edinburgh as Principal in 1623.

In 1598, George Buchanan had been buried for sixteen years, in 1623 for forty-one years. We must further note that Buchanan had died in poverty, directing the small sum of money he had left to be given to the poor, and telling his friends to let him lie where he was till the City of Edinburgh buried him. He appears to have been interred without a tombstone. Adamson in his epitaph or eulogy on Buchanan draws attention to this fact, saying that only those need monuments who have nothing else to be honoured by. A grave without a tombstone is very likely to be encroached upon for later interments, and Adamson was undoubtedly familiar with the situation of Buchanan's grave. Probably he obtained the skull from the grave-diggers at some later interment at or near Buchanan's tomb. Sir Robert Sibbald, born twelve years before Adamson's decease, writing of Adamson within thirty years of the latter's death, tells us, somewhat naïvely, that by his, Adamson's, care the skull of Buchanan, dragged from its grave, has been preserved in the Library of the University of Edinburgh. There it remained, accompanied by a copy of Adamson's Latin verses, to which I have already referred, till 1817, when it was transferred to the Museum of Anatomy. About one hundred years after Buchanan's death Mr Robert Henderson, University Librarian, refers to the skull, and says of Adamson: "It's storied of him that being at Buchanan's burial, he bargained for the skull; which having got from the graveman within the year or so, he carefully kept in his life-time; and being found in his study so inscribed after his removal was handed down to us." A child of six might be, if improbably, at the burial of Buchanan, but he certainly would not have bargained with the graveman for Buchanan's skull on that occasion. However, the main point

GEORGE BVCANAN.

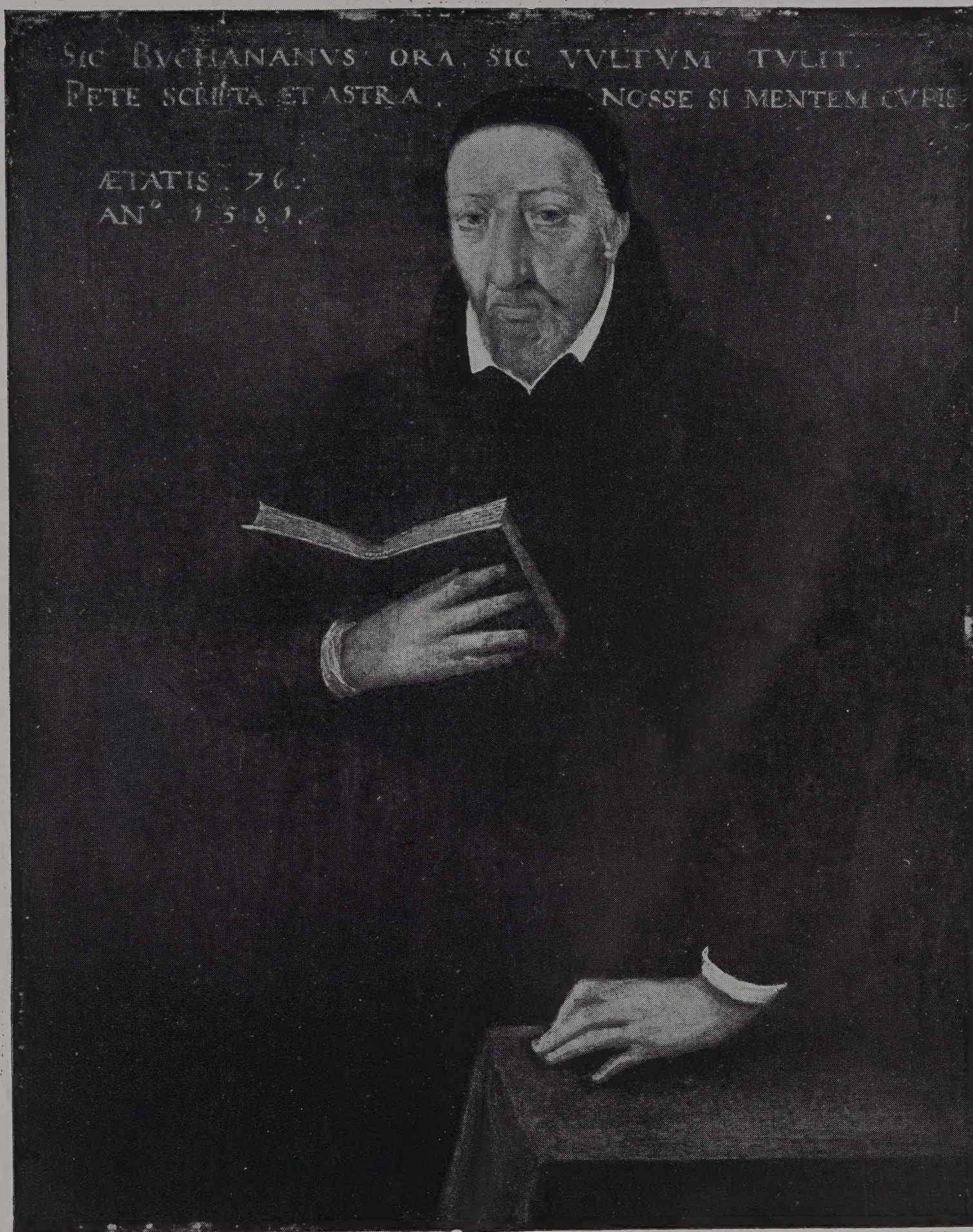


The Chouet Woodcut, 1673.



*Scotia si Vatem hunc gelidam produxit ad arcton,
Credo equidem gelidi percaluere poli.*

The Granthomme Engraving from the Boissard, 1598.



Bronckhorst type, from the National Portrait Gallery, London. Asserted date, 1581.

[Reproduced by permission]

of Henderson's account, that the skull was found in Adamson's study after his death, inscribed with the name of Buchanan, doubtless corresponds to the truth. And if so, Adamson would hardly have obtained the skull without the assistance of the sexton, or kept it without a fair amount of certainty that it came from George Buchanan's tomb.

It is noteworthy that while John Adamson says there was no tombstone to Buchanan's grave, we read in 1701 of the existence of such a stone:

"At Edinburgh, the 3rd day of December 1701, the same day the council being informed, that the through stone [tombstone] of the deceast George Buchanan lyes sunk under the ground of the Greyfriars: therefore they appoint the chamberlain to raise the same, and clear the inscription thereon; so that the same may be legible."

If we could ascertain at what date that stone was erected, we should have an upper limit to the date when the Principal of the University robbed the Greyfriars, for there was clearly no stone when he wrote his verses.

I have not succeeded in finding any real work done on the skull in relation to the portraits.

Mr William Carruthers in the *Scottish Review* for 25th October 1906 dismissed the skull, stating that it could not be that of George Buchanan, because it was not like the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery in London. The question seems to be: Is it like any other portrait? If it is, it would only show that the National Portrait Gallery picture is not a truthful representation of Buchanan.

Sir William Hamilton is said to have tested Buchanan's portraits against the skull about 1835 by measurement and found that *only* the Chouet woodcut (see Plate I, left) fulfilled his tests. In other words, he appears to have rejected the two portraits in the Senate Hall of his own University, which are of the National Gallery type. Speaking of the Chouet wood-engraving and its reproduction by Freiherus, Hamilton writes: "The head in both is thoroughly Scottish in character with a long and well-formed nose, well-defined cheek bones and a long upper lip as in the skull." Now these three characters are all present in the National Portrait Gallery type (see Plate II), but appear to be quite absent in the skull.

I am not clear what a head "Scottish in character" may be. It is not possible craniometrically to distinguish really significant differences between the Lowland Scottish measured by Turner and the seventeenth century Londoners measured in my own Laboratory. Recently some

400 crania from a graveyard in London dating round the plague year 1665 have been measured by us and we have obtained the type contours on the average of some 140 male skulls. The upper lip and the nose of this typical skull from the pauper graveyard are identical in length with those of the Buchanan skull, which, like these seventeenth century Londoners, had no specially marked zygomatic arches.* The main difference between the Buchanan skull and that of the seventeenth century Londoner lies in the very feeble development in the former of the occipital and cerebellar regions.

I do not think we can place any weight on Sir William Hamilton's rejection of all but the Boissard-Chouet engraving, especially as that engraving is in my opinion undoubtedly a copy of the Edinburgh or Bronckhorst type of portrait, a point which Sir William Hamilton seems to have overlooked.

Lastly, I may refer to Professor Hume Brown's *Life of George Buchanan*, wherein he writes: "It may be added that what on good authority is supposed to be Buchanan's skull is preserved in the Anatomical Museum of the University of Edinburgh. Its general outline is exactly like that of the best portraits, and by its dome-like shape and extreme tenuity it has all the marks of a high cerebral development."

The skull has certainly extreme tenuity, but why this should be a mark of "high cerebral development" instead of as usual the concomitant of old age, I do not understand. As to its dome-like character, its auricular height is just the average of our Londoners,† and the "dome," such as it is, is produced in appearance by the marked absence of occipital development. Professor Hume Brown does not tell us the locus of the best portraits which the general outline of the skull exactly resembles. The fact that Sir William Hamilton and Professor Hume Brown appear to reach opposite conclusions may, perhaps, justify a biometrician in endeavouring to advance further by more elaborate measurements.

I have placed in the accompanying Table (see p. 13), in parallel columns, the usual series of cranial measurements taken in the Biometric Laboratory, for (i) the average male Londoner of the seventeenth century, (ii) the late sixteenth century George Buchanan, (iii) the seventeenth century author

* Zygomatic breadth: Buchanan's skull, 130 mm.; Farringdon Street Graveyard, 130.1 mm. Facial breadth: Buchanan's skull, 92.5 mm. (?); Farringdon Street Graveyard, 91.4 mm., Moorfields Plague Pit, 93.9 mm.

† Males: Londoners seventeenth century, Farringdon Street Graveyard, 110.0; Whitechapel Plague Pit, 112.1; Moorfields Plague Pit, 111.3. These are *mean* values, hence the Buchanan skull, 110.0, is simply mediocre.



Buchanan's Skull ; *Norma Facialis.*



Buchanan's Skull ; *Norma Verticalis*.

of the *Religio Medici*, and (iv) the early nineteenth century Jeremy Bentham. None of these skulls is in anything like perfect condition, and that of Jeremy Bentham is in the mummified head, so that many measurements are difficult to take upon it, and are marked in the Table with queries and double queries. Sir Thomas Browne's skull is in a more complete condition than Buchanan's, but still owing to breakages certain measurements are doubtful. In the case of Buchanan, a portion of the left orbit, a considerable portion of the occipital bone and the whole of the foramen magnum have disappeared. There is no mandible, and accordingly I have not given the mandibular measurements for the other crania. In the case of Buchanan, I have given measurements obtained by a reconstruction in plasticene of the base of the skull. I do not propose to enter fully into the methods adopted in reconstructing parts of a skull. They can be carried out with more or less exactness, when we know the correlation of its component bones. As an illustration, I may take the reconstruction of the basion or anterior point of the foramen magnum. We have first to measure as far as is possible the capacity of the skull. After closing the orifices this was found by mustard seed packing to be 1360 cms.³, very small as compared with the average English, or either Sir Thomas Browne's or Bentham's skull. Now we have a formula for finding the capacity from maximum length, parietal breadth and auricular height. This formula gave a capacity of 1375 cms.³, quite as close to the capacity obtained by mustard seed as could be hoped for. Assuming Buchanan's cranial capacity as known, we can compute the height from the bregma to the basion because we have a second formula giving the capacity in terms of maximum length, parietal breadth and basio-bregmatic height. Proceeding in this way one is able to determine reasonably accurate positions for points on the missing part of the base of the skull, and fill in the portion broken away with plasticene. That is what is meant by the word "Reconstruction" against certain measurements in the Table on page 13.

We have seen that Buchanan's skull had a small capacity, and it is at once clear why it had. The height of the skull and its breadth are not small, they are simply mediocre, but the length is remarkably small. Sir Thomas Browne compensated his low frontal and small auricular height by a great length and an increased parietal breadth. But nothing of this kind occurs in Buchanan's skull. It is as if the occipital region and the cerebellum had been simply cut away. This can be shown at once by superposing the horizontal contour of Buchanan's skull on the type or average contour of 140 male English skulls. See accompanying

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Figs. 1, 2 and 3, in which the English skull has been superposed upon George Buchanan. You will remark at once nearly complete correspondence in the frontal region, but a total absence of occipital development in Buchanan's skull. You may see the same point in the other two main contours. In the transverse or vertico-auricular section Buchanan is very

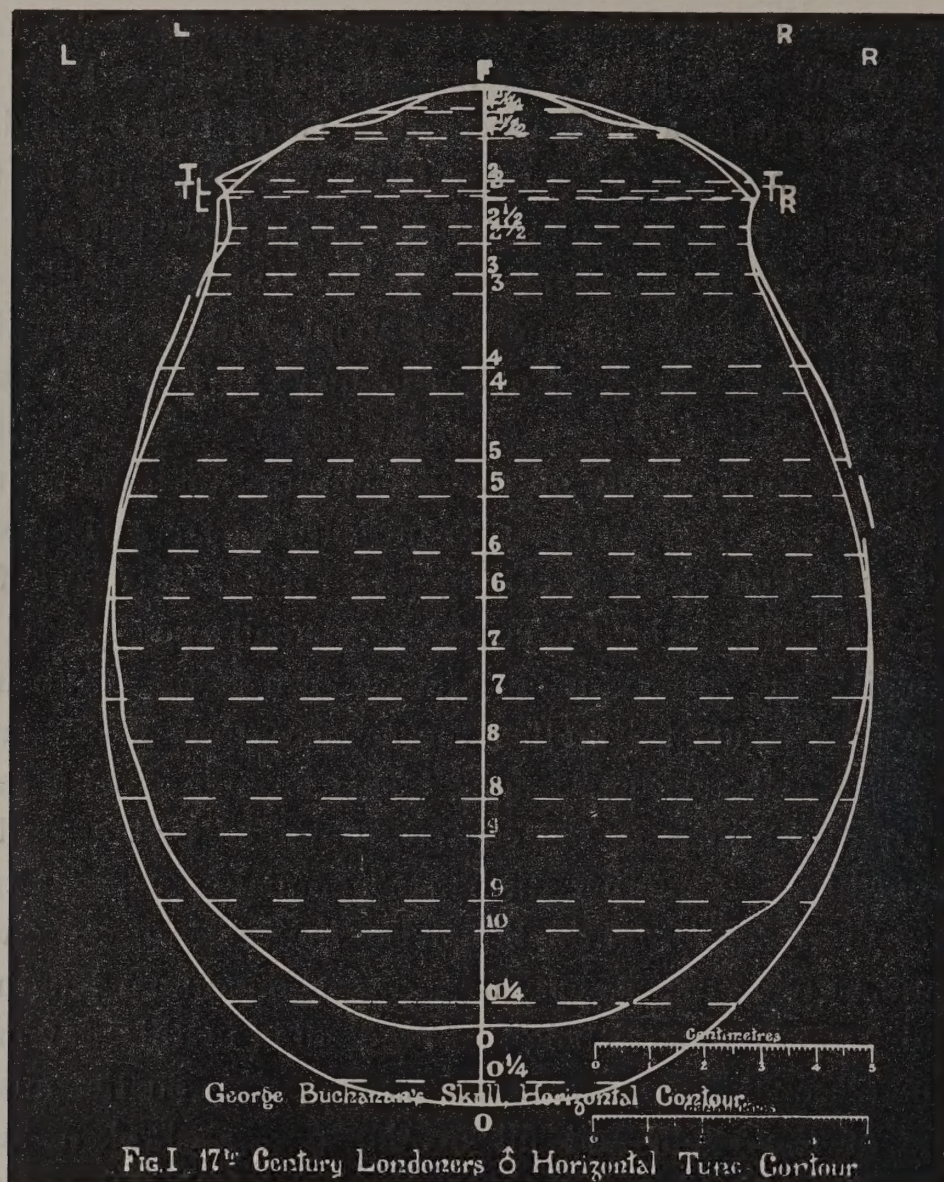


FIG. I.*

nearly simple British, he might easily have been a seventeenth century Londoner; in the sagittal section he is also mediocre British until we come to the occipital, and here comparison is not feasible, because in his skull that region may be said to fail entirely.

Now let us examine the characteristics of Buchanan's skull by another method, namely, by taking the difference between the character

* Apparent confusion in Figs. 1-3 is solely due to superposition, the legends tending to obscure one another.

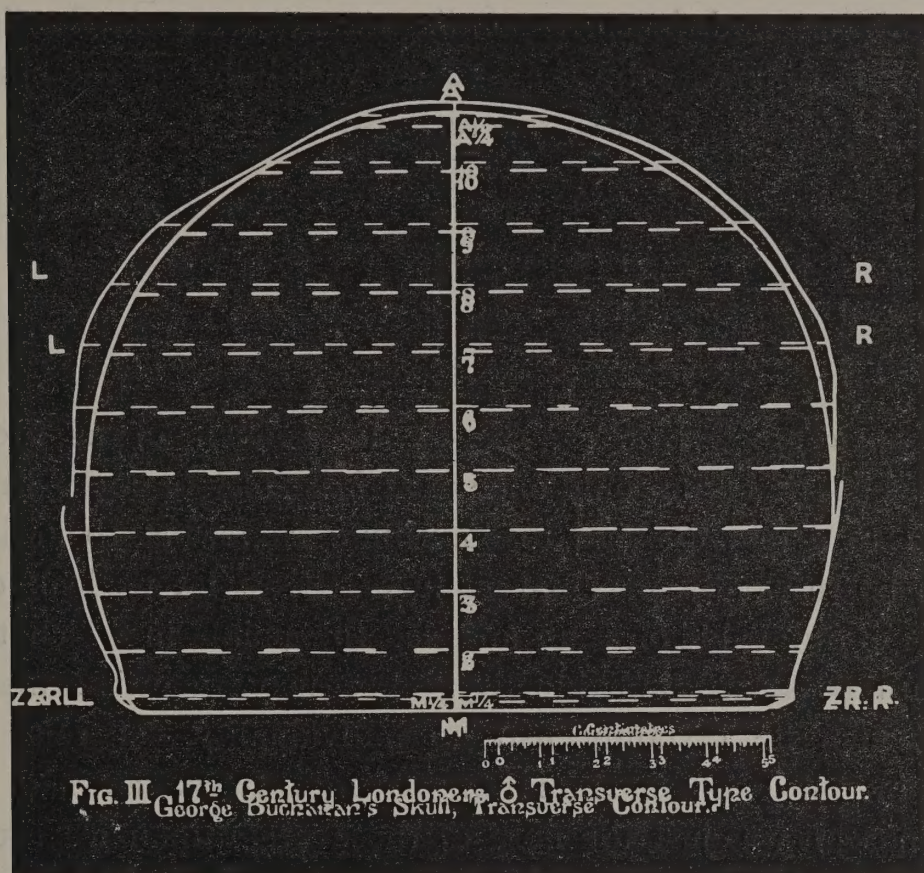


FIG. 2.

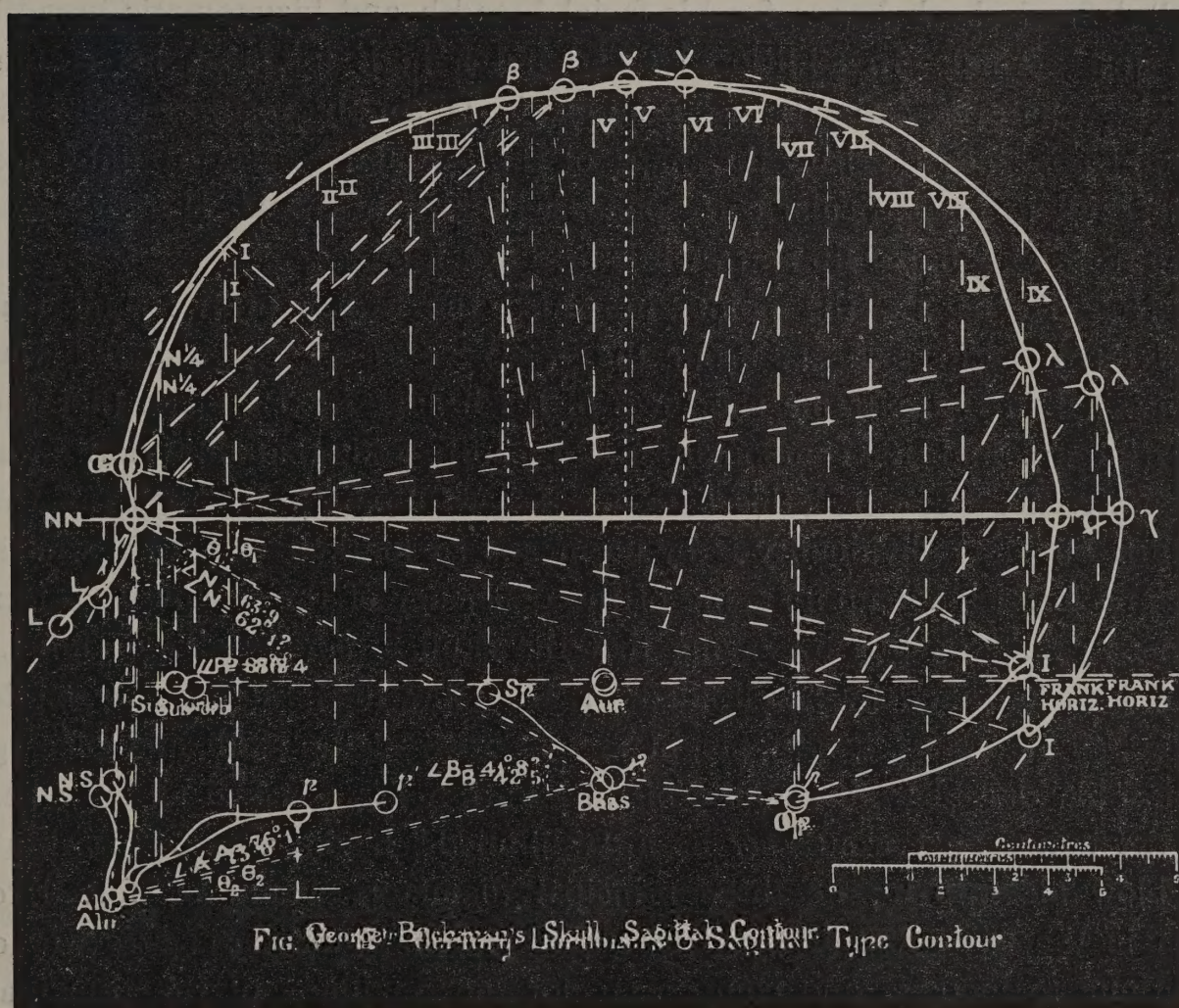


FIG. 3.

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in Buchanan's case and the corresponding average value in English crania, and divide this difference by the average variability of the character in the English population. When this ratio is :

1,	1 person in	6	has the characteristic more emphasised.
1.5,	1	„ „ 14 to 15	„ „ „
2, only 1	„ „	50	„ „ „
2.5, only 1	„ „	100	„ „ „

I think a characteristic can hardly be spoken of as individually remarkable until it occurs only once in at least fifty or more individuals. Values of 1 to 2 may be said to contribute somewhat to individuality, but not to be markedly personal features. Now let us look down the fifth column of our Table on p. 13 and see the points in which the owner of this skull possessed individuality. We may examine first certain points in which he certainly had no individuality. I refer to those mentioned by Sir William Hamilton. George Buchanan had certainly not a long nose, it was just the nose of the average man we meet in the street; he had not a long upper lip, one man at least in every five we see has a longer lip than George Buchanan had; again he had not well-defined cheek bones, for his facial breadth and bizygomatic breadth are just normal. In addition he had not a high forehead, his cranial height, whatever estimate we take of it, is simply mediocre, and his frontal bone has precisely the shape of the average British frontal bone. The skull in no particular corresponds with that of a man of high brow, long nose, long upper lip and well-defined cheek bones.

Now let us see the points in which the owner of the skull was individual. First we see from the -2.75 and -2.29 that he was individual in the extreme shortness of his head. Next we see that the sagittal arc and its components were short, and that the horizontal circumference was small, this of course follows from the shortness of the length, but the individuality is by no means so marked. In other words, the arcs have made up for some of the deficiency of the occipital region. We may express this by saying that the skull, if small, is "well-filled." The idea indicated by "well-filled" is the following: Suppose we made a box of the exact length, height and breadth of the skull, and placing in it a bladder, blew air into the bladder until it *just* touched all six sides of the box. That would *not* be a "well-filled" bladder. Now continue to blow air into it; its three principal diameters would be forced to remain the same, but the sagittal, transverse and horizontal arcs would continue to increase and compensate for the smallness of the principal

ON THE SKULL AND PORTRAITS OF GEORGE BUCHANAN 13

Comparison of the Cranial Measurements of George Buchanan with those of other Skulls.

Cranial Character.	Average London Poor, 17th Century ♂s.	Skull of George Buchanan.	Skull of Sir Thomas Browne.	Skull of Jeremy Bentham.	Deviation of Buchanan Skull from 17th Century ♂s. Difference S.D.
Capacity	1481	1360 (??)	1509	1475	- .93
Length (Flowers)	186.1	171.3	190.0	183.5	- 2.75
Length (Maximum)	188.8	174.0	194.6	186.0	- 2.29
Breadth (Parietal)	142.4	140.0	143.7	147.0	- .41
Breadth (Minimum frontal)	96.8	98.8	87.4	99.0	+ .34
Height (Basio-vertical)	130.4	130.6 (?)	122.0	...	+ .04
Height (Basio-bregmatic)	129.7	129.9 (?)	121.9	132.0	+ .04
Height (Auricular)	110.0	111.0	102.6	116.0	.00
Skull base	100.1	100.9 (?)	102.7	102.0	+ .18
Arc, Transverse (Apex)	309.0	304.0	297.0	325.0 (?)	- .39
Arc, Sagittal	378.8	355.4	380.0	365.0 (?)	- 1.65
Arc (Nasion to Bregma)	129.3	119.5	129.0	130.0 (?)	- 1.51
Arc (Bregma to Lambda)	128.1	124.0	123.0	120.0 (?)	- .51
Arc (Lambda to Opisthion)	120.6	111.9 (? Reconst.)	128.0	115.0 (??)	- 1.11
Chord (Lambda to Opisthion)	97.3	91.3 (? Reconst.)	99.8	97.1 (?)	- 1.17
Horizontal Circumference	530.0	503.0	549.0	540.0 (?)	- 1.70
Alveolar Point to Nasal Spine	19.2	21.5	21.7 (?)	22.0 (??)	+ .82
Facial Height	70.5	69.6	73.1 (?)	73.0 (?)	- .20
Facial Breadth	91.4	92.5 (?)	90.9	97.0 (??)	+ .18
Bizygomatic Breadth	131.0	130.0	132.3	127.0 (?)	- .21
Nasal Height, R.	51.8	51.0	52.2	52.8	- .28
Nasal Height, L.	51.7	51.7	52.2	52.8	.00
Nasal Breadth	24.6	25.6 (?)	22.6	26.7	+ .40
Dacryal Subtense	12.8	12.0	12.8	11.9 (?)	- .45
Dacryal Chord	22.2	22.2	20.9	22.2 (?)	.00
Dacryal Arc	36.1	32.0	32.7	33.0 (?)	- 1.15
Simotic Subtense	4.6	4.5	5.0	4.3	- .09
Simotic Chord	9.2	10.4	8.7	9.5	+ .63
Breadth, R. Orbit	42.3	45.8	43.7	45.2 (?)	+ 2.24
Breadth, L. Orbit	42.4	44.8	42.8	46.0 (?)	+ 1.62
Height, R. Orbit	34.3	35.9	36.3	36.0 (?)	+ .68
Height, L. Orbit	34.3	36.8	36.7	36.0 (?)	+ 1.09
Palate Height	11.1	10.5	16.5	12.0 (?)	- .42
Palate Breadth	39.3	36.8	37.5 (??)	35.0 (?)	- .82
Palate Length to base of Spine	46.0	38.7 (??)	49.0 (??)	47.0 (?)	- 2.75
Profile Length	94.4	89.5	98.3 (?)	89.0 (?)	- .92
Length, Foramen Magnum	36.8	32.6 (?? Reconst.)	34.6	36.2 (?)	- 1.40
Breadth, Foramen Magnum	30.6	...	30.1	31.0 (?)	...
Profile Angle	85° 9	87° 8	84° 7 (?)	93° 0 (?)	+ .60
Angle at Nasion	64° 2	60° 5 (?)	65° 4	58° 0	- 1.01
Angle at Basion	42° 5	42° 3 (?)	42° 7 (?)	44° 5	- .05
Angle at Alveolar Point	73° 3	77° 2 (?)	71° 9 (?)	77° 5	+ 1.07
1st Cephalic Index (100 B/L)	75.4	80.5	73.8	79.0	+ 1.47
2nd Cephalic Index (100 H/L)	69.3	75.1 (?)	62.7	70.9	+ 1.80
3rd Cephalic Index (100 B/H)	109.1	107.2 (?)	117.8	111.4	- .40
Compound Cephalic Index. (100 (B - H)/L)	6.7	5.4 (?)	11.2	8.1	- .36
Facial Index	77.1	75.2 (?)	80.4	75.3 (?)	- .30
Nasal Index, R.	47.5	50.2	43.3	50.6	+ .63
Nasal Index, L.	47.5	49.5	43.3	50.6	+ .46
Foraminal Index	83.4	...	85.7	85.6	...
Dacryal Index	58.1	54.1	61.2	53.6 (?)	+ .43
Simotic Index	50.7	43.3	57.5	45.3 (?)	+ .57
1st Palate Index (Breadth/Length)	85.4	95.1 (??)	76.5 (??)	74.5	+ 1.75
2nd Palate Index (Height/Breadth)	28.5	28.5	33.7 (??)	34.3 (?)	.00
Occipital Index	58.0	58.3 (?)	55.8	61.3	+ .11
Orbital Index, R.	81.0	78.4	83.1	79.6 (?)	- .43
Orbital Index, L.	80.9	82.1	85.7	78.3 (?)	+ .23
External Orbital Width	98.1	98.5	98.0	100.4 (?)	+ .10

diameters ; such a bladder would then be "well-filled." This is the best interpretation I can place on the term a "well-filled" skull.*

The next value in excess of unity is that for the dacryal arc. Buchanan's dacryal chord is just the average, but the dacryal arc is short. He must therefore have had a flat bridge to his nose. You will remember this type of nose occurs in the busts of Socrates. I think we must not on this account rush to the conclusion that Buchanan shared the wisdom of Socrates. Indeed modern medicine attributes such noses to courses of conduct hardly wise. But the point I would have you bear in mind is that a picture which has a narrow nasal bridge cannot be a true portrait of the owner of this skull.

Passing down the last column of our Table (p. 13) we see that the next value which attracts our attention is the size of the orbits ; these, notably the breadth of the right orbit, are marked characteristics, especially when we consider that the skull is small. We must look out in the portraits for large orbits, especially the right one.

The next character which attracts our attention is the markedly short palate ; but I think we must proceed here with great caution. I have marked the measurement with a double query, the palate is too much broken to have a good reconstruction, and the skull being short we might assume it to have a short palate. I am not certain of this however, for the auricular point is much in the average position, and accordingly the position of the basion as reconstructed cannot be far out, so that the skull base must be near the normal length, and the palate would not necessarily have been so short. The fact is that the chief peculiarity of Buchanan's skull lies entirely in the occipital region, and as there is no profile portrait this peculiarity, and naturally that of the palate, cannot be of service for the portraiture.

We now pass to the length of the foramen magnum. This is again a doubly-queried measurement, but I think the foramen was very small ; as it is of no service for portraiture we may anyhow pass it by. In going further down our column we notice some slight individuality in the fundamental triangle, but it is only a "one-man-in-six" individuality, and may be entirely due to a small error in the reconstruction of the basion. We again need not stay over this point.

* It must be noted, however, that if the capacity be reconstructed from the three principal arcs (see *Biometrika*, vol. iii., p. 370) its value is found to be 1342.5, actually less than that reconstructed from the diameters (L , B , OH), i.e. 1372.7. The mean of these two values (1358) is very close to the value obtained by packing with mustard seed.

Next we reach the two cephalic indices, which are naturally in excess, since the height and breadth are normal, while the length is very short. A cephalic index of 80.5 would be about 83 on the living individual. Out of 3377 living British persons I found 249, or 7.4 per cent., with a cephalic index of 83.5 or upwards. This is about 1 in 14 to 15, precisely what I have said before was indicated by a figure of 1.5 in the last column of our Table. Now a cephalic index of 83 for the living head is by no means uncommon in Scotland. Buchanan is said to have sprung from Killearn in Stirling, which according to Dr Tocher's measurements of Scottish soldiers is the most long-headed district of Scotland (mean cephalic index 77.3). His name, however, if we discard the mythical Irishman, suggests a north-eastern rather than mid-western descent. But the best of Aberdonians cannot claim an average cephalic index of more than 78.4, in practical accordance with that of Britishers south of the Tweed. Whence George Buchanan's round-headedness came we cannot say, so ignorant are we of many of the lines of his ancestry. It is possible, but by no means needful, to suppose foreign blood.* Unfortunately this very marked feature of the skull is of no avail for determining portraiture. As far as portraiture is concerned we are left with the facial characters only. Most of these characters possess no marked individuality, they are close to those of the average British skull. But there are certain characters which are individual. We should not expect to find a long nose with a narrow bridge, but an average length of nose with a flattened bridge. We should expect not a long upper lip but one of moderate dimensions. We should not expect emphasised cheek bones, but rather a rotundity of face, and this would be surmounted by a hemispherical skull-cap suggesting no great height of the forehead. There is nothing in the skull whatever to suggest a long oval face. George Buchanan was certainly *not* a "high brow."

The skull itself will give you the best idea of these points (see Plates III and IV). It is difficult nowadays to speak of a bullet-headed man,

* Professor Hume Brown says Buchanan came of the happy mixture of Celtic and Teutonic blood. If Celtic origin for Buchanan be assumed because one of his distant ancestors is said to have come from Ireland, and he himself could speak Gaelic, we must anthropologically admit that there is no such thing as a "Celtic race," only a mass of men of very different head shapes, whose ancestors spoke the same family of languages. As for "Teutonic," it is again a linguistic and not a racial term. Of a brachycephalic German ancestor—to account for Buchanan's round-headedness and absence of occipital—I can find no trace in such pedigrees of the Heriots as exist. If by "Teutonic," we are merely to understand Lowland Scottish, these are identical with our Londoners and, so far from being essentially Anglo-Saxon, have for their nearest congeners the men of the Iron Age in Britain.

for the shape of a bullet has changed, but we may I think safely say the owner of this skull had an apple-shaped rather than a pear-shaped head.

With this preliminary consideration of the skull we now turn to the portraiture. As in the case of many men of distinction there exist several incompatible types of portraiture, so for Buchanan there are divergent pictures which undoubtedly cannot all represent him. Those who start with the idea that a particular portrait is certainly that of Buchanan, citing written evidence for it of a certain grade of probability, but then find this portrait does not fit the skull, ought, I hold, to do one of two things:

- (i) To consider whether the evidence for the authenticity of the picture is more or less reliable than the evidence for the authenticity of the skull;
- (ii) To consider whether the skull is more appropriate to other portraits which have, perhaps, less evidence of their authenticity, but which may after all represent the Simon Pure.

What they certainly must not do is to disregard the skull straight away because it does not accord with the portrait they have selected as giving their own ideal of George Buchanan. That I take it was the line adopted by Mr William Carruthers, who simply dismissed the skull because it was not like one type of presumed portrait. Nor must anyone on the other hand, overlooking the fact that craniometry is a definite branch of science, assert that the skull possesses attributes which actually do not belong to it. A good illustration of this occurs in Dr Æneas Mackay's article on George Buchanan in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He writes:

"Tradition dating from a short period after his [Buchanan's] death ascribed to him the skull preserved in the Anatomy Museum of the University, of which there is a print in Irving's life, and which certainly resembles the best authenticated portraits of him which have been preserved, that by Boinard, engraved in Beza's 'Irones,' and of which a copy is in the University of Edinburgh."

It is difficult to imagine more errors than are crammed into the last three lines of this statement, overlooking the grammatical blunder, by which "the best authenticated portraits" is suddenly reduced to the singular as "that by Boinard."

Now let us first be quite sure of our dates. George Buchanan died in 1582, aged 76. Beza's volume of *Icones* [not "Irones"!] was published

in 1580; it contains no engraving of Buchanan, and no biography of Buchanan. In 1581 Beza's *Icones* was translated into French by Simon Goulard; there was no portrait of Buchanan in it.

Only in 1673, more than ninety years after Buchanan's death, Pierre Chouet published an anonymous volume at Geneva, entitled: *Les Portraits des Hommes Illustres, qui ont le plus contribué au Restablissement des belles lettres et de la vraye Religion*.

There is no text to this work, beyond the list of portraits, and no explanation of its origin. All the blocks of Beza and Goulard are used, and *many more besides*. Among the latter is one of GEORGE BVCANAN (see Plate I, left). It has been too hastily assumed that Beza had a block cut which neither he nor Goulard used, and that this was preserved for ninety years, to be published later in the following century by Pierre Chouet, also at Geneva.

That portraits of John Knox and George Buchanan were sent to Beza is well known. They were sent by Peter Young, who in a postscript to a letter of 13th November 1579, addressed to Beza, wrote: "Just as I am signing this letter the painter has opportunely come in, and brought in a box the likenesses of Buchanan and Knox."*

Further, we find in the Scottish Treasury Accounts: "To Adrian Vaensome, Fleming, painter, for twa picturis, and send to Theodorus Besa, conforme to ane precept, as the samin producit upon compt beris £8, 10s."

These pictures must have been painted when Buchanan was 73 years of age. The Beza portrait was not therefore, as Dr Mackay states, painted by Boinard (*sic*), but by Vansom;† it did not appear in Beza's *Icones*, and there is no reason to suppose a copy of that particular portrait is now in the University of Edinburgh.

But let us go a stage further. In 1598 J. J. Boissard (not Boinard, be it noted!), fifteen years after Buchanan's death, issued his *Icones Quinquaginta Virorum illustrium Doctrina et Eruditione*. This is a work independent of Beza's *Icones*, and in this is a portrait of George Buchanan (see Plate I, right)—"Georgivs Bvchananvs Aeta suae 76." This engraving is by Granthomme; Boissard was the author of the book, not the engraver. Now this engraving in Boissard's *Icones* opens a new field of inquiry. For while the crude engraving in Chouet of 1673 does appear to be the

* Hume Brown: *John Knox*, 1895, vol. ii., pp. 322-24.

† No trust can be put in the Scottish spelling of foreign names in those days. This name may be identical with Vansome, in which form it also occurs, or with that of Vansomer. The best-known painter of the latter name, as Mr H. M. Hake informs me, was active in the seventeenth century, but had progenitors of less importance in the sixteenth century.

same man as in Boissard, it is not possible to believe that the Boissard artist copied the Chouet. In the first place, there is no evidence that a man working in *Frankfurt* in 1598 would have access to an unpublished engraved block of Buchanan in Geneva, even supposing the block was at that time in existence. Further, and what is more important, the Boissard portrait is clearly a copy of the Bronckhorst type of portrait, and it bears the same age, 76,* as the picture in the National Portrait Gallery in London (see *Frontispiece*). It is not only the age which associates the 1598 engraving with the London picture, but the lobe and arrangements of the left ear, cap and locks of hair are alike, and differ from that of the St Andrews portrait of this type, which indeed bears the age 75 and not 76. Other pictures of the Bronckhorst type, such as those in the Edinburgh University Senate Hall (with scroll in right hand) and at Glasgow University need not be considered from this standpoint. One item may, however, be referred to. The Granthomme engraving in Boissard has a large fur collar. Such a collar it is difficult to discover in the London or St Andrews pictures, but it does appear in the second University of Edinburgh portrait—that with a book and hands resting on a balustrade. The lobe of the left ear and the hair arrangement are however very different. It is extremely difficult to believe that the Edinburgh balustrade portrait is an independent portrait of Buchanan made two or three years before the Bronckhorst—the attitude is so completely the same, and the motto upon it is the same.† A copyist might omit the hanging lobe of the ear, but he would be extremely unlikely to introduce it *de novo*. The Edinburgh scroll picture, the Glasgow picture—which is almost certainly an early copy—and the St Andrews portrait of this type, which is dated a year before the London, leave the left ear in obscurity. On this account I am inclined to give precedence to the London portrait over all these with its marked individuality of left ear.

Another "balustrade" type of portraiture has come to my knowledge since my lecture; it is in the possession of Mr T. D. Findlay of Glasgow. It is difficult to say whether the Edinburgh or this Glasgow portrait must be considered the original. The Glasgow portrait bears the same words

* Not the age 73 of the Vansom portrait, be it noted.

† Mr William Carruthers (George Buchanan, *Glasgow Quatercentenary Studies*, 1906, Maclehose & Sons, 1907, p. 359) associated this portrait closely with the London one, without saying that it is a copy. He says that on the upper right corner is written "Ann. Aet. 76," *i.e.*, the same date as the London picture, but my photograph of it has quite clearly, not on the upper right, but the upper left corner, "Aetatis 73," which, if we could trust it, would make this picture three years older than the London picture.

"*Sic Buchananus ora*," etc., but has no statement of Buchanan's age. The fact that the book and hands are thrown more into shade than in the Senate Hall picture, and a general impression of more life and less woodenness are in favour of Mr Findlay's picture; but on the other hand the details of the hair over the left ear and of the fur collar are much more highly elaborated in the Edinburgh picture.

Now it appears to be universally agreed by those who have written on the portraits that the London and the St Andrews pictures are by Bronckhorst, and that the Chouet engraving follows the missing portrait by Vansom sent to Beza, but if this be so, how does it come about that the Chouet engraving has for its *right* ear the peculiar lobe, the cap covering a part of the upper ear and the hair arrangement of the Bronckhorst *left* ear? We may suppose one to be a reversal of the other, made by the artist drawing directly on to the plate. But why should the cap be just covering the upper part of the ear and the curl be practically the same in two independent portraits, taken by different artists at an interval of two or three years? Further, the London picture shows Buchanan with a black velvet cap, the Boissard-Granthomme engraving has this velvet, and the crumpling of the velvet is indicated by a series of "light" lines or patches descending to the forehead. These light effects are surely misinterpreted in the Chouet, and instead of a black velvet cap, when the wood-engraver sets to work, we have ruled lines, indicating a pattern on the cap, making it look like a printed cotton night-cap rather than the usual scholar's head-dress. No such cotton night-cap appears anywhere else in Beza's *Icones* or Chouet's engravings (see Plate I). I suggest that there is strong evidence that the Vansom painting of Buchanan never reached Beza, or, if it did, he never had it engraved, but that Chouet, when ninety years later he reproduced Beza's *Icones* with forty new portraits, got a wood-cutter to copy in crude outline without reversing Granthomme's engraving of 1598. It is easy therefore to explain how "one man" has been said to be represented by the Vansom-Beza and the Bronckhorst-Boissard engravings. We do not get proof of the truthfulness of the Bronckhorst portrait if, as I think must be held, the Chouet is merely a crude copy of it. What also becomes of Sir William Hamilton's statement that the Chouet must represent the real man because it fits the skull better? It fits the skull better because the crude wood-cutter has altered the proportions of height to breadth of face. He has given the pear-shaped London face a more apple-shaped form, while preserving the disproportionately long nose, and (for the skull) impossible nasal bridge.

Those who hold that the Chouet woodcut was really prepared from the

Vansom painting of 1579, when Buchanan was 73—and when considering this they must remember the Edinburgh balustrade picture, which is given as of age 73—must give up the idea that the London National Gallery picture is the Bronckhorst painting, notwithstanding its date, and suppose it also to belong to the Vansom group. I think they will find it easier to suppose that Chouet copied from Boissard.

We must now ask what is the evidence that associates the London and St Andrews portraits with Bronckhorst, and makes the Edinburgh and Glasgow pictures of this ancestry.

The evidence consists in Bronckhorst's bill to James VI, and His Majesty's order for its payment, dated September 1580. The account runs: "Certane portraiture maid by me at his maiesties commaund and delyuerit laitlie to his hienes quherof I have resautit as yit na payement." The first is a portrait of "his maiestie" from the belt, and the price "xvj lib." The second item runs: "Ane other pourtraiet of Mr george buchanane viii lib." (only half as much for a subject's portrait as for a king's!), and the third item a full-length portrait of "his maiestie" xl lib., which shows the value of the royal legs.

The Buchanan item "Ane other pourtraiet" may mean that the first portrait was that of the King, but it might also mean that Bronckhorst had painted a previous portrait of Buchanan. Arnold van Brounckhorst* must have painted his picture or pictures before September 1580. The St Andrews portrait has on it the date 1580, and the age 75; the London portrait is dated 1581, with the age 76. Both portraits are clearly, closely related to each other, the St Andrews being in a much worse state of preservation.

In 1580 James was only a boy 14 years of age, and he may or may not have wished for a portrait of his tutor. The order for payment is countersigned by Angus and Argyle, who then dominated the situation and may themselves have desired the portrait of Buchanan. What James thought of Buchanan and his works in his later years is well known and in the lists of paintings belonging to Charles I prepared after his execution, no portrait of Buchanan appears in royal ownership.

Now without denying that the whole group of portraits to which we are referring may have originated in the Bronckhorst painting, there is still something obscure about them. In the first place there is the inscription on three of them, which runs: "Sic Bvchananvs ora, sic vultum tvlit. Pete scripta et astra, nosse si mentem cvpis."

* Thus the name seems to be spelt in the Scottish records. This artist was probably related to the better-known and better-spelt Bronckhorst of the seventeenth century.

Mr Carruthers translates this as follows: "This is the face and these are the features of Buchanan. If you want to know his mind, search his writings and the stars."

Now I have forgotten the little Latin I ever knew, but I should translate the sentences: "Thus Buchanan bore his features, thus his face. If you seek his spirit, search his writings and heaven."

In other words, the verb is in the perfect and strongly suggests that Buchanan was dead at the time the writing was affixed to the picture. His "mens," the "divina mens," is to be found only in his writings and heaven. Further, Buchanan died on 28th September 1582, and is said to have been born in February 1506, or if that be Old Style, February 1507; he could therefore have only been 75 or at most 76 in the year of his death, 1582, while the London portrait makes him 76 in 1581 and the St Andrews portrait 75 in 1580. Thus the dates on these pictures appear to be erroneous, and I believe the dates and inscriptions must have been put on, and probably the pictures painted, after Buchanan's death. They may all have been copied from an original Bronckhorst which has not survived to our day. If they are copies and not only copies from the Bronckhorst, but one from another, we can easily explain the growth of idealised features and the emphasis of an intellectual spirituality which may have been far less intensely present in the actual man himself.

In connection with this type of portrait two engravings occur, copies of which are in the Print Room of the British Museum. The first of these is closely related to the Edinburgh "balustrade" picture. The portrait has an ornamental border by Karel van Sichem, and it is said to be painted by an artist whose monogram (? C. W.) there given has not been identified. The engraving itself is by a second van Sichem, possibly Christoph, the son of the former. The original ornamental border enclosed an oval portrait which has been cleaned off and replaced by a square frame containing Buchanan. It has been suggested that the print was prepared in Cologne early in the seventeenth century. One would suspect that it was issued as a frontispiece to some edition of one or other of Buchanan's works, published in Cologne or the Netherlands, but I have not hitherto been able to identify it. It has the usual lines "*Sic Buchananus ora,*" etc. A second print, obviously a copy of the van Sichem, was drawn by Elias Boschius (van der Bosche?) and engraved by Johan Bussemecher. This is still the Bronckhorst type, but a very inferior copy of the van Sichem. If the statement on the van Sichem plate be correct, the Edinburgh balustrade portrait, however much it

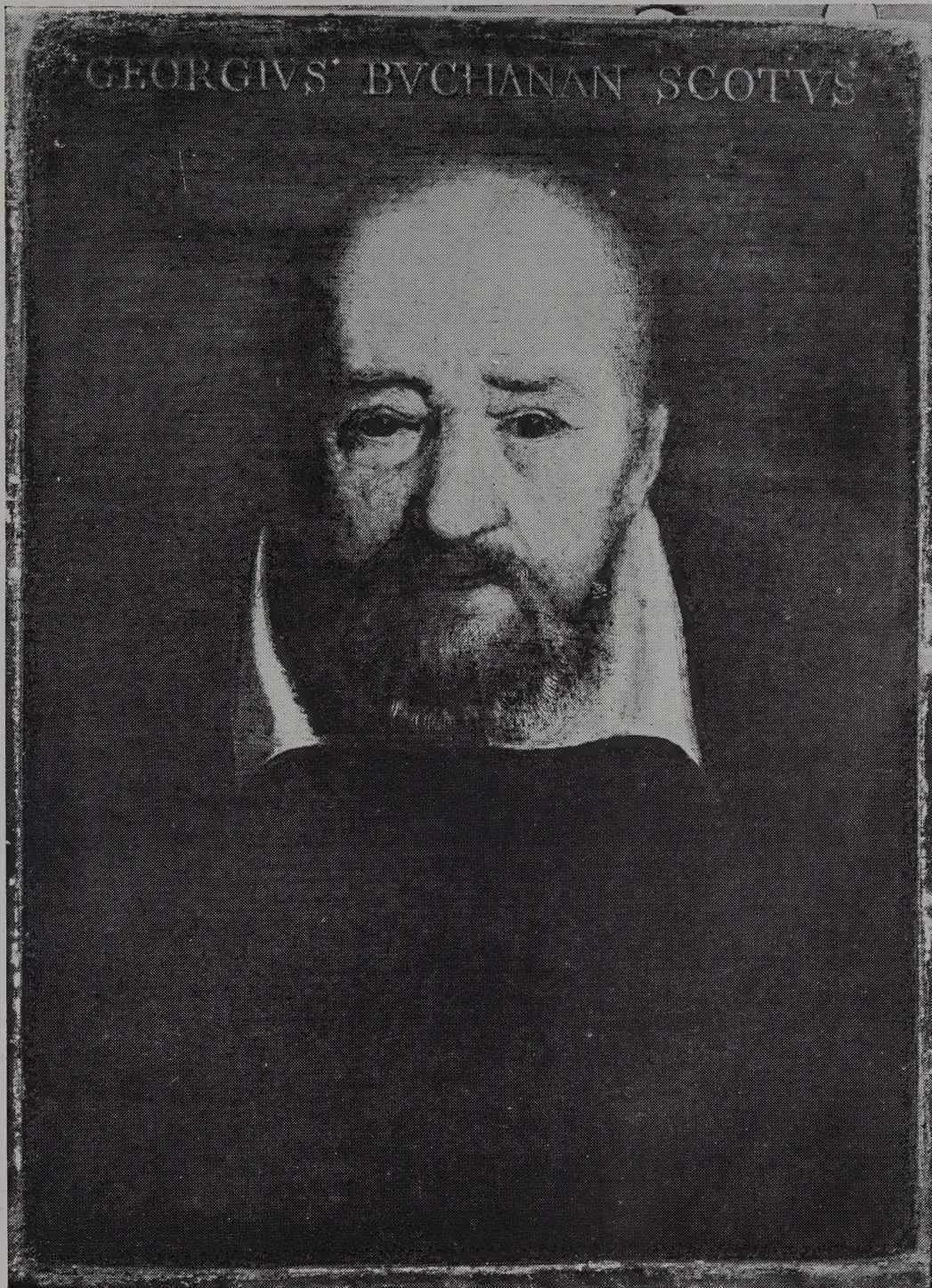
resembles the Bronckhorst type, was not itself painted by Bronckhorst, but by the hitherto undetermined artist of the monogram.

We will shortly determine to what extent the skull fits the Bronckhorst group of portraits. Meanwhile we ask what other portraits or pseudo-portraits are available.

In the first place, there is the Earl of Buchan's so-called "Titian" and its reproductions by Raeburn and others. This picture is at St Andrews, and is not to be confused with the St Andrews picture of the Bronckhorst type. The person represented is not the Buchanan of any other type of portraiture; the face does not fit the skull, and there is little doubt that it is a copy of the portrait of President Jeannin of Dijon which hangs in the Musée of that city. We can therefore at once dismiss the "Titian" type as no portrait of Buchanan at all.

The next type requires far more consideration. We are certain of at least three portraits of this character, which I will call the "Royal Society or Povey type." Thomas Povey was a member of the Long Parliament in 1647, so it is reasonable to suppose that he was born between 1610 and 1620, *i.e.* from thirty to forty years after the death of Buchanan. He was a friend of Pepys and an original member of the Royal Society from 1663. To that Society he presented a portrait of George Buchanan, which has painted on it: *Georgivs Bvchanan Scotvs* (see Plate V).

The costume is that of Buchanan's date. The face is wholly unlike that of the Bronckhorst type. Now the portrait has been some 260 years in the possession of the Royal Society, and it is not only recently ascribed to Buchanan. It carries us back to a date, when probably some of those living had seen Buchanan. Povey was a favourite at Court, and Charles II, the grandson of Buchanan's pupil, who frequented the meetings of the Royal Society, could hardly fail to have seen portraits of his grandfather's tutor. Mr Carruthers, who dismisses this portrait, says that George Buchanan was a common name in Scotland; that two George Buchanans might have had their portraits painted, and that the inscription only says "George Buchanan, *a* Scot." I think it would be more reasonable to translate it: "George Buchanan, *the* Scot," and I think there was only one man of that name who reached fame at that date. Now it is quite clear that the word *Scotus* is significant. If this George Buchanan is not the real man, but some rich merchant who visited the Netherlands and had his portrait painted there, as Mr Carruthers suggests, why was *Scotus* put on the picture? It was hardly needful to identify him in the family portrait gallery! Is it not probable that this



The Royal Society or "Poemata" type of Buchanan portrait,
originally attributed to Porbus, possibly by Adrian Keij.

[By kind permission]

portrait, whoever it may be of, was being sent abroad—to England, to Denmark, or even to Geneva—in which case the *Scotus* was appropriate?

Further, in all the editions of Buchanan's works issued in his life, the author on the title page appears as "Georgius Buchanan Scotus," which is certainly "George Buchanan *the* Scot." But Povey's George Buchanan does not stand as a sole representative of this type. Dr Richard Mead, the celebrated physician, born in 1673 (*d.* 1754), was a man of wide knowledge, who had studied under Graevius in Utrecht and Boerhaave in Leyden. He had travelled in Italy and in other parts of Europe and amassed a great library, a gallery of well-chosen pictures and a collection of coins and other antiquities. His library alone contained 10,000 volumes, and his pictures, books, etc., sold for more than £16,000 on his death—a very large sum for those days. He built for his pictures and antiquities a gallery attached to his house in Great Ormond Street, London. Among his pictures was a portrait of George Buchanan. This painting is almost certainly the one now in possession of the Duke of Sutherland. It was engraved by Houbraken in 1741, and the picture was then attributed to Porbus. I do not think this portrait was a copy made for Dr Mead of the Royal Society picture, but it is undoubtedly of the same man and must, judging from the hair, have been taken at a somewhat later time. Why should the supposititious rich merchant of Edinburgh have had no less than three paintings of himself? How did two of them come to London to fall into the hands of two Fellows of the Royal Society?—I think these portraits tend mutually to strengthen each other, and to give the Royal Society type a strong claim to be considered when we compare skull and portraits.

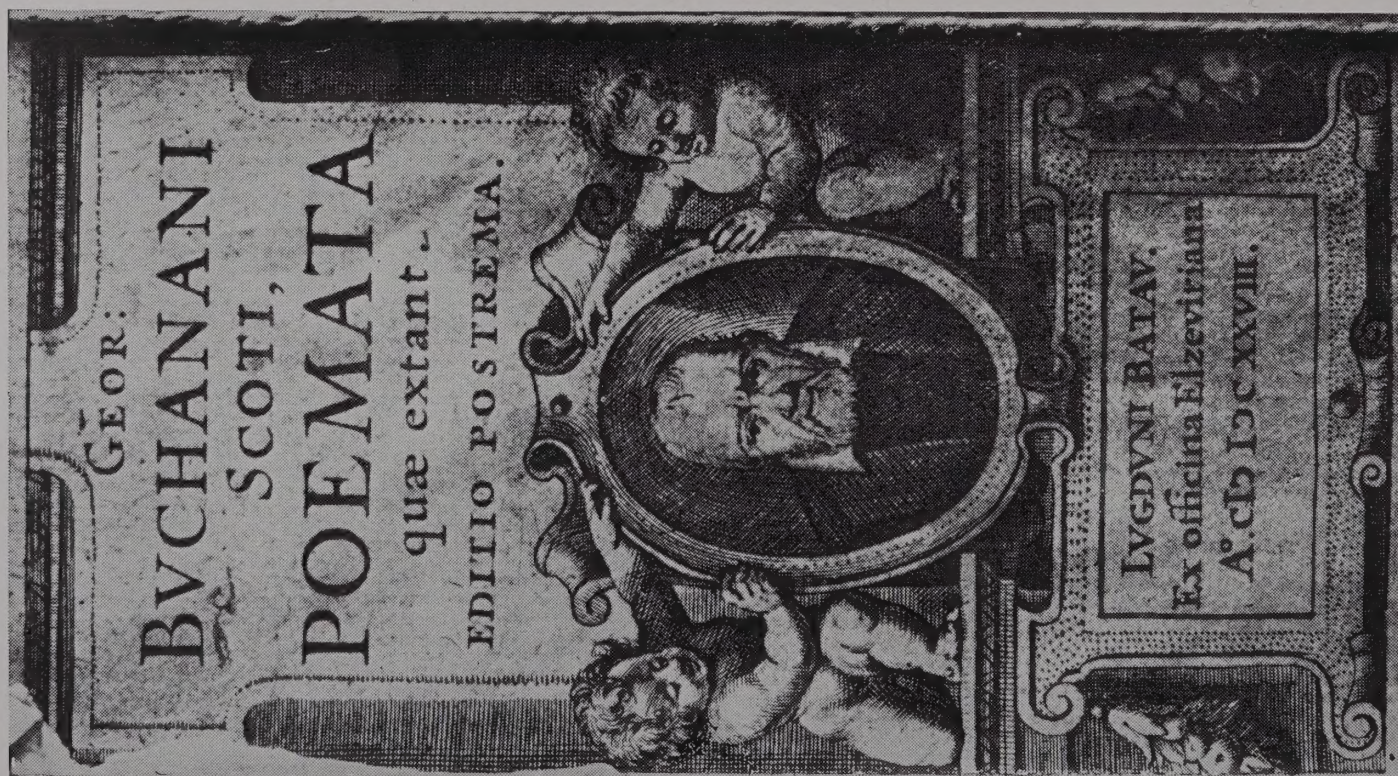
Still further confirmation of the originality of this type of portrait has turned up since this lecture was given in Edinburgh, namely, a picture in the possession of Mr George K. Sowersby, which is also a portrait of early date with the same expression of features but without any title. Mr Carruthers' worthy merchant of Edinburgh must indeed have been fond of having paintings made of himself. It is difficult to place exactly Mr Sowersby's portrait. It is certainly not a copy of the Royal Society portrait, being much closer to the Dunrobin picture. There is no doubt that it is the same man, but it would be unwise to assert at present which is the original.

Like Dr Mead's portrait the Royal Society's has been attributed to Porbus, a Flemish artist, but more recently to Adrian Keij. It is clearly Flemish work. There is no evidence that Porbus, either father or son, came to Scotland, and little certain evidence that Buchanan visited the Netherlands. But the difficulty about a Flemish painter is not really

great, as Flemish painters were by no means unknown in Edinburgh. Now we know that Tycho Brahé in his Observatory at the Uranienberg fitted up for him by Fredrik II of Denmark had a portrait of George Buchanan. Brahé and Buchanan had been in correspondence in 1576. Tycho Brahé travelled in Germany and Switzerland in 1575, and possibly then made the acquaintance of Beza and through him of Buchanan. It must also be remembered that from 1560 onwards Buchanan had been busy with his poem *De Sphæra*, which takes the anti-Copernican view—what we might in modern language term the “Fundamentalist” view—of the universe. This was also Brahé’s standpoint, and Buchanan may well have sought his advice and interpretation against the Copernican views of the more advanced school of heretics. Buchanan’s pupil, James VI, recognised this portrait of his old tutor, when on going to fetch his wife, Anne of Denmark, he visited Tycho Brahé at the Uranienberg. Brahé left Denmark in 1597 and died in Prag in 1601. Buchanan’s portrait has been sought in vain in Denmark and Bohemia. If it was left at the Uranienberg it might well pass back to the Danish Royal Family with the Observatory, and may have been sent to Queen Anne as of more interest to her husband than to the Danes. But what has this to do with Povey? Just this, Povey was son of Justinian Povey who was treasurer to Anne of Denmark, that frivolous but kindly-hearted Queen, who never could keep her expenditure within her income, and was continually pledging her jewels and valuables even to her treasurer. If Buchanan’s portrait came from the Uranienberg to Queen Anne it may very possibly have passed to her treasurer Justinian Povey, and thence to his son Thomas, who ultimately gave it to the Royal Society.* All these stages are only conjectures, but not very improbable conjectures. It has been suggested that Peter Young, who was in Denmark in 1585 and 1589 about the marriage of James to Anne, presented a portrait of Buchanan to Tycho Brahé, but it is not very clear why he should have done so either three or seven years after Buchanan’s death. It seems more reasonable to suppose that Buchanan himself sent his portrait to Brahé. The picture, while it may represent a man well up in the sixties, is more appropriate to that age than to the seventies.

Whence Dr Mead obtained his portrait it is difficult to suggest; if,

* An absurd statement occurs on p. 534 of the *Glasgow Quatercentenary Studies* (George Buchanan), 1906, where we are told Povey presented the picture to the Royal Society in 1633, *i.e.* about thirty years before the foundation of that Society and when Povey was a very young man just beginning to study for the Bar! He lived on into James II’s reign, and probably died towards the end of the century.



The "Poemata" type of Buchanan portrait, in agreement with the Povey, Mead and Sowersby portraits.
First issued in 1628 and maintained in the Amsterdam editions of the 17th century.

as seems probable, it is the one now in the possession of the Duke of Sutherland at Dunrobin Castle, then the picture is of the same man as the Royal Society portrait, but as I have said he is several years older, for the hair of the head, moustache and beard are all grey. Is it conceivable that Dr Mead's portrait was the Vansom sent to Beza? If that were so, then the Tycho Brahé and the Beza portraits need no longer be treated as missing, and we should have a second type of Buchanan very different from that of the Bronckhorst type.

Mr Carruthers speaks of the Povey-Mead type of Buchanan portrait as if the tradition of this portrait type had started with some error of assignment by Povey in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and that from Povey's error had arisen the whole tradition of this portrait type representing Buchanan. Mr Carruthers seems to have entirely overlooked the facts that: (i) the Povey and Mead portraits represent the same man at *different* ages, and (ii)—what is far more important—the so-called Povey type is the type which appears in the Elzevir edition of the *Poemata* in 1628, which is obviously engraved from a picture of the Povey type, if not from the Povey picture itself. In 1628—James I only died in 1625—there must have been persons still living who had known Buchanan in the flesh, yet this passed as Buchanan's likeness not only in this edition of his poems, but in those issued at Amsterdam in 1676 and 1687 (see Plate VI), until it appears in a highly idealised form in Ruddiman's great folio edition of the *Opera Omnia* published in Edinburgh in 1715. In other words, the Royal Society type was as well known and as often—perhaps more often—published in the century which followed Buchanan's death as the Bronckhorst type. Despite Mr Carruthers, traditional evidence for the Povey type is as strong as for the Boissard-Bronckhorst type. It is not until Burmann's reissue of Ruddiman in 1725 that the Boissard-Bronckhorst type replaces the Povey type in the *Opera*.

It has been said that there was no opportunity for a painting being made of Buchanan when he was about 60 years of age. This overlooks the fact that in 1565-66 Buchanan visited Paris to see his Latin paraphrase of the Psalms passed through the press by Henri Estienne and his brother.* On the title page of that work Buchanan appears as Georgius Buchananus Scotus† “poetarum nostri saeculi facili princeps.” A man

* Ruddiman in his *Anticrisis*, 1754, writes: “I have heard it related a hundred times that Buchanan when Principal of St Leonard's College, at St Andrews, did make such a voyage to France.”

† It is to be noted that the word *Scotus* almost invariably follows George Buchanan's name in any of his works published in his lifetime, and is thus in keeping with the title on the Royal Society portrait.

with such a reputation might well have his portrait painted. How Buchanan travelled to Paris we do not know, very possibly through the Netherlands, and there is a remarkable letter of Languet to Buchanan stating that he lives in sight of Rotterdam which reminds him not only of Erasmus but also of Buchanan. This suggests that he had met Buchanan in Rotterdam.

While the Bronckhorst and Royal Society types show Buchanan as "aged" if not "agéd," there exist two other portrait types quite incompatible with the Bronckhorst type (but more or less compatible with the Royal Society type) which represent, or profess to represent, Buchanan at about 30 and 50 respectively. One of the former type was originally at Hamilton Palace, and from it Harding made an engraving for Pinkerton's "Scottish Gallery." By courtesy of the Duke of Hamilton, I have been informed: (1) by the Hamilton Estates Trustees that no such portrait now exists in Hamilton possession, and (2) by Messrs Christie, Manson & Woods, that no such portrait was sold with the Hamilton Palace collections. A portrait of this type on canvas has, however, turned up in the possession of Mr H. B. Buchanan, which is undoubtedly an old painting. It has been in the possession of this family for many years and may possibly have reached them by purchase or gift from Hamilton Palace. I am very grateful for the permission to reproduce it in this lecture. A second, somewhat idealised, version of this portrait is now in the Technical College at Glasgow, which again may be the original Hamilton Palace picture (see Plates VII and VIII).

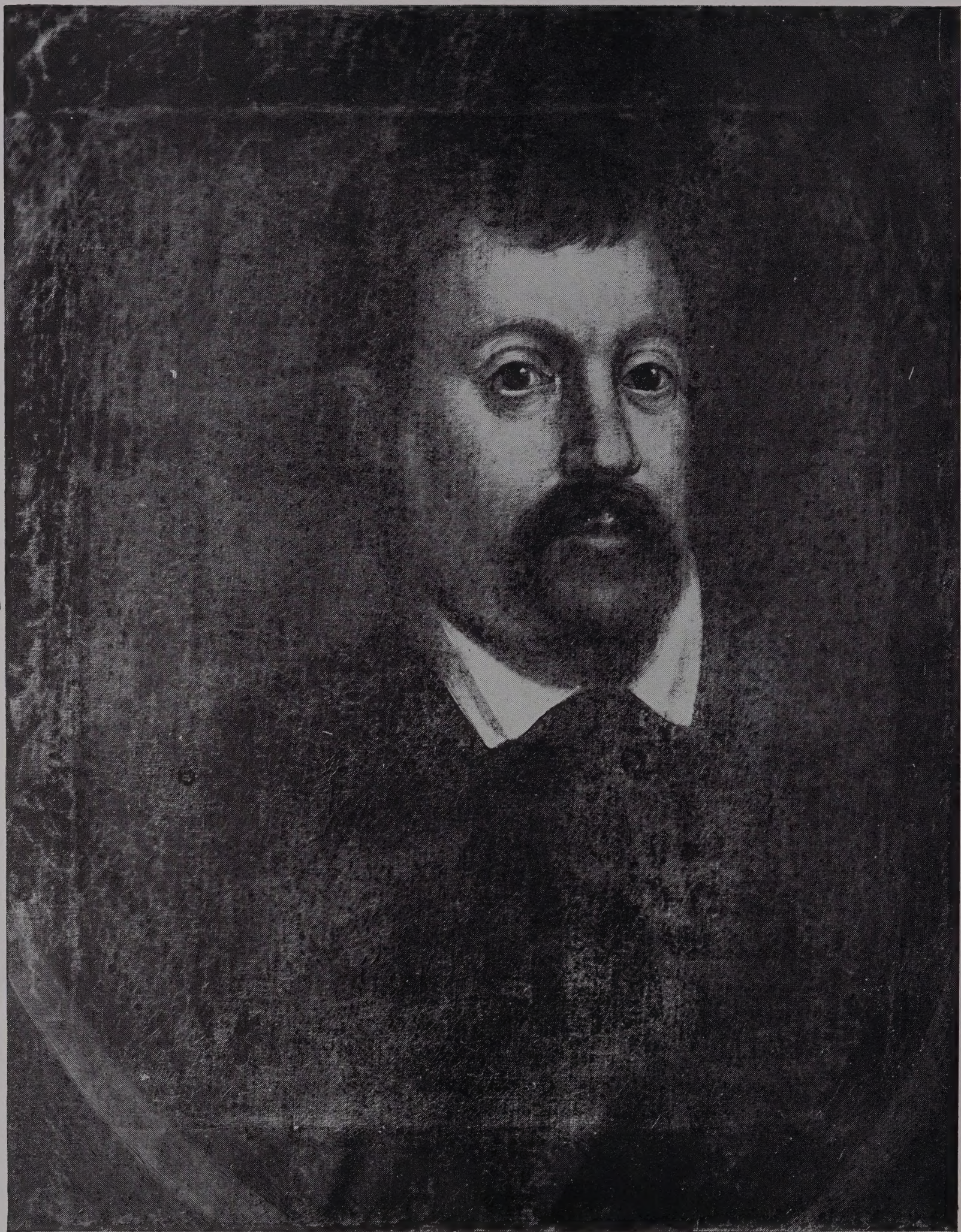
One of the second type of portrait—*i.e.*, of Buchanan about 50 years of age—is in the possession of Miss Christie of Bedley. (A slide of this portrait was shown in the course of the lecture.)

While the skull of an adult changes to some slight extent with age, the amount is so small as to be quite insignificant compared with the personal equation of an artist. His deviations from truth, even in the case of the most conscientious of the craft, are of quite a different order of magnitude. We can have no hesitation then in applying the Edinburgh skull to the portraits reputed to be those of the Buchanan in the years from 30 to 50.

I will now run rapidly through the portraits. I have to thank Miss Ida McLearn for measured drawings of the portraits to each of which we have attached outlines of photographs of the skull in the corresponding attitude.

(1) *Portrait of a Young Man. Glasgow Technical College Portrait.*

With a slight allowance for artistic inaccuracy the skull might almost fit



Mr H. B. Buchanan's picture of the youthful Buchanan. This seems to be a more original and less idealised portrait than that of the Glasgow Technical College.

[By kind permission]



Portrait of the youthful Buchanan in the Technical College, Glasgow. Probably a copy of that originally at Hamilton Palace.

[By kind permission

this portrait. We cannot, however, raise the alveolar margin adequately without getting the orbits and nasal bridge out of position. The frontals of the skull are scarcely high enough for the forehead of the portrait (see Plate IX, left).

Allowing for artistic inaccuracies, I do not think we must venture to say on the authority of the skull that this type of portrait does *not* represent Buchanan when young.

(2) *Miss Christie's Portrait of a Man between 40 and 50.*

Again this is not such a *very* bad fit. Forehead too high and broad. Cheek bones about right and mastoid fairly good. Alveolar border too low and cannot be raised without sending orbits out of position. (Slide of superposed skull and portrait shown in lecture.)

It cannot be affirmed on the evidence of the skull that this is certainly *not* Buchanan.

(3) *Chouet (? Vansom).* Right (? left *reversed*) mastoid out of position, left cheek bone projects beyond portrait without flesh. Alveolar margin is under nose instead of under upper lip. Excess of right frontal. Would be a very bad portrait of the owner of the skull, if portrait at all (see Plate IX, right).

(4) *George Buchanan from Boissard's "Icones," 1598.* Left mastoid out of position, right cheek bone protruding beyond portrait without flesh. Alveolar margin of upper jaw under nose instead of under upper lip. Excess of right frontal. All the defects of the Chouet portrait, of course reversed. (Slide of superposed skull and portrait shown in lecture.)

(5) *George Buchanan, National Portrait Gallery.* This may stand as representative of the two Edinburgh, the St Andrews, the two Aberdeen, and the Glasgow portraits. They are all of the same, the Bronckhorst type (see Plate X).

Left mastoid out of place, nose much too long, so that it reaches to alveolar margin. Right cheek bone without flesh outside limits of portrait. Right frontal in excess. It is impossible to defend this portrait as a truthful portrait of the owner of the skull. Those who accept this portrait as a representation of George Buchanan must either discard the skull, or be willing to admit and approve extreme artistic licence.

(6) *Earl of Buchan's "Titian," St Andrews (Copies at the Buchan Club, etc.).* I do not know whether it is worth the energy it has taken to dismiss this portrait of President Jeannin, but I have done so. The orbits are out of position, the alveolar margin absurd, and the forehead ridiculous for the skull. (Slide of superposed skull and portrait shown in lecture.)

(7) *The Royal Society's Portrait*. The orbits are reasonable, so is the nose. The alveolar margin is in the true position; the cheek bones practically where they should be, and the frontals excellent. If the skull is to be our guide, this could hardly be bettered (see Plate XI). Mr Sowerby's portrait of this type was also fitted with the skull. As in the case of the Royal Society picture the skull fits well.

We are, I think, driven to the conclusion that the skull accords with the Povey-Mead type of portrait, the type of which our earliest trace of authenticated date is the Elzevir *Poemata* of 1628.

Now what exactly does this mean for us as phrenologists? Let us look on the two portraits once more.

Let us take the highly idealised Bronckhorst portrait in Edinburgh as one type (see *Frontispiece*). Note the high forehead of great breadth, the marked bridge and long nose, the projecting cheek bones and stern look. We have here all the signs of the earnest religious reformer, the ascetic scholar, and the stringent moralist; Buchanan as a second Cato.

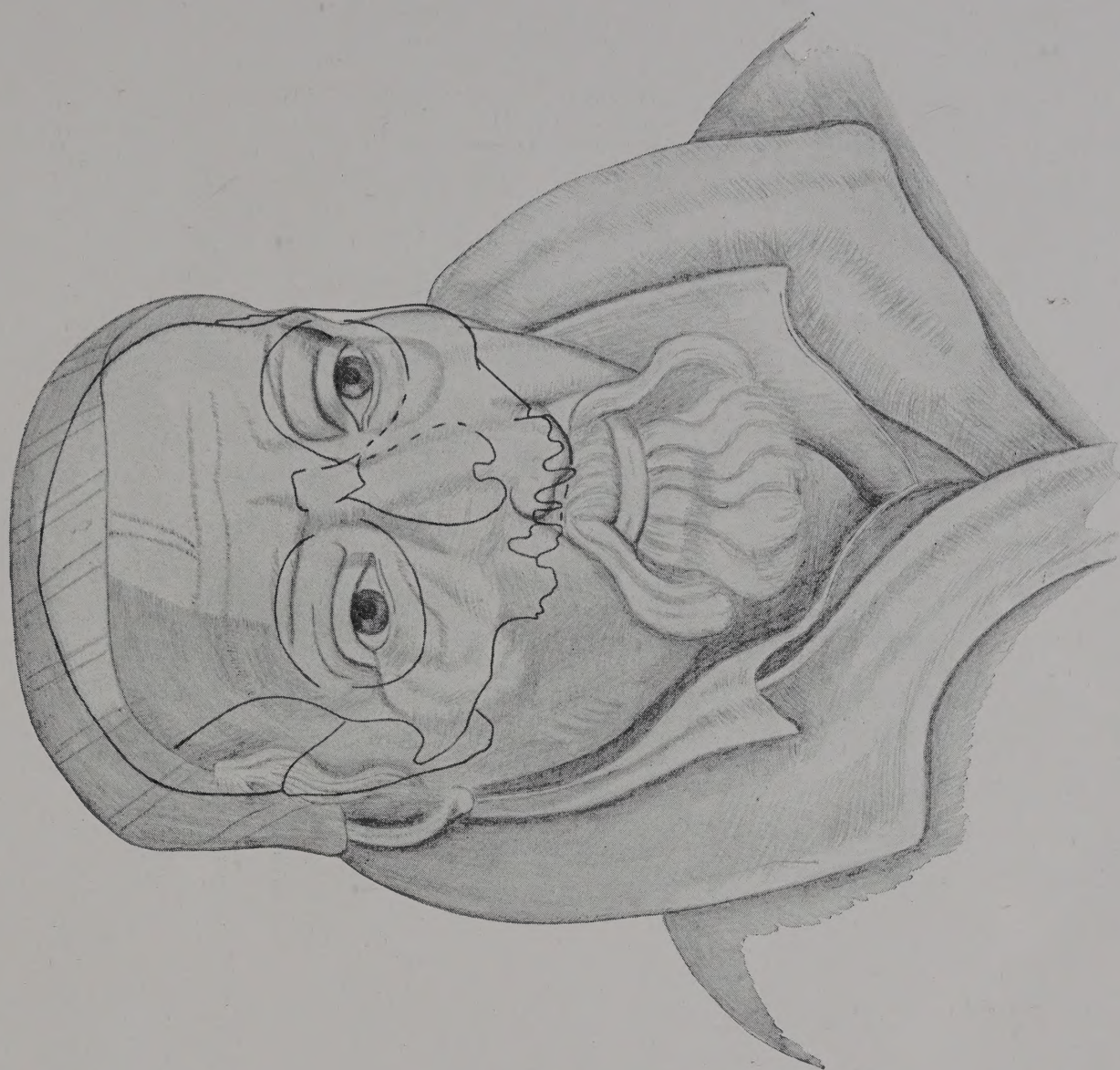
Now look at the Royal Society picture (see Plate V). We see the exaggerated right orbit, the Socratic nose, and all the rotundity which identify man and skull. The portrait suggests the intimate of Muretus, the man who preferred a pawky story to true history, the man who could write poems worthy of Catullus; the man who could appeal alike to the surpassing talents of Henry VIII and of the Regent Moray, or sing the virtues of Mary Stewart and of Elizabeth Tudor, according as the moment was propitious for receiving their aid. The two portraits express the two attitudes that historians have taken to Buchanan, and whether we like it or not, each one of us is forced to take his choice between Cato and Catullus. For as Buchanan's friend Muretus laid it down:

"Quisquis versibus exprimit Catullum,
Raro moribus exprimit Catonem."

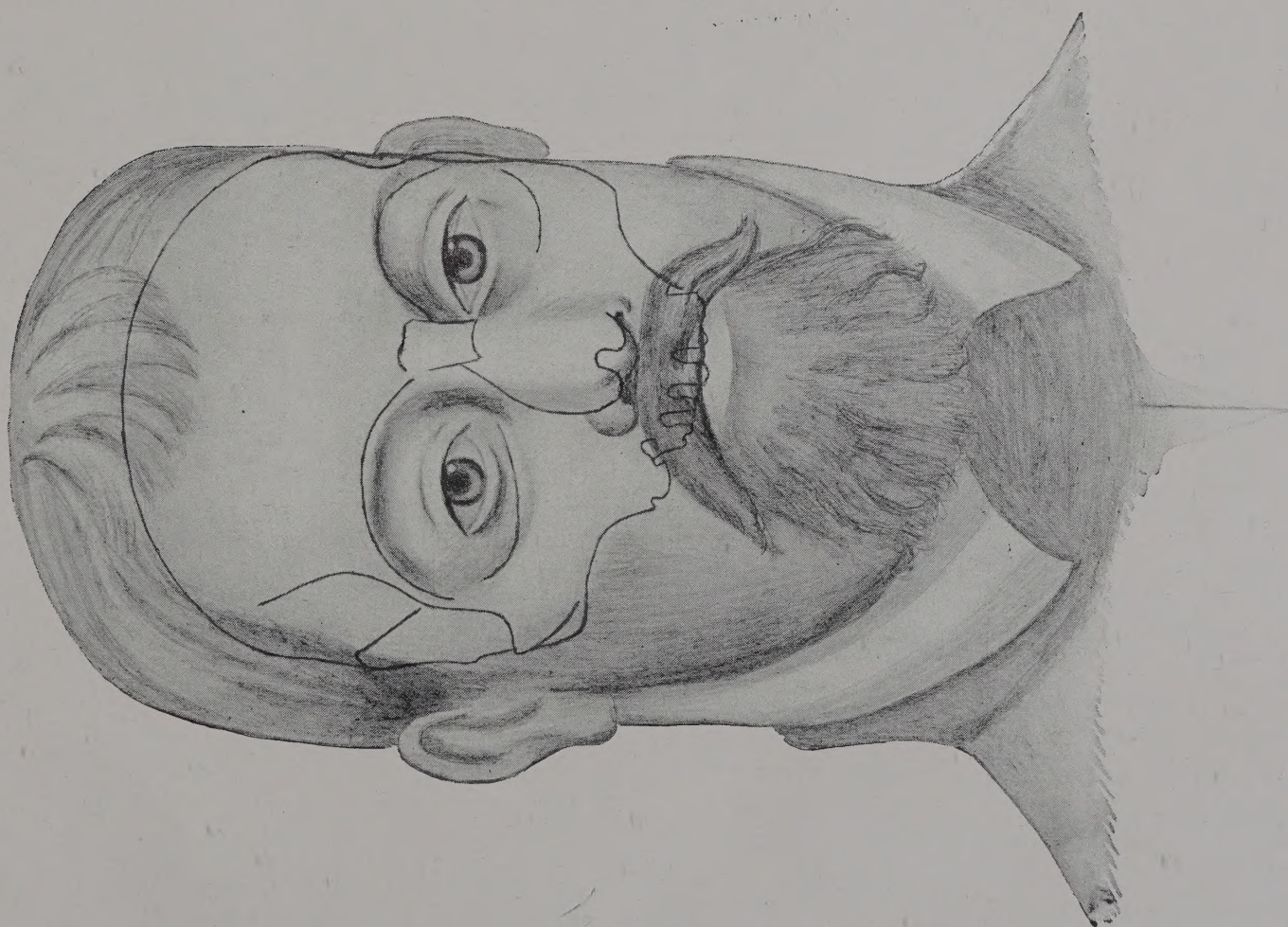
The man who in his verses propounds Catullus, will scarcely exemplify Cato in his morality.

Here is a choice between alternatives.* Either you must reject the Cato portrait as no truthful likeness, or if you accept the Cato portrait as a *truthful* representation, you must return the skull to the Greyfriars as not that of George Buchanan, although it fits excellently that other portrait of "Georgivs Buchanan Scotvs." The alternative lies in how you translate "Scotus."

* The Chairman, Sir E. A. Schäffer, suggested at the end of the lecture that the portraiture alternatives were those of Don Quixote and Sancho Pansa. This somewhat apt description of the Edinburgh "Scroll" and the Royal Society pictures has really no application to the alternative interpretations of the indisputable mental ability of George Buchanan.



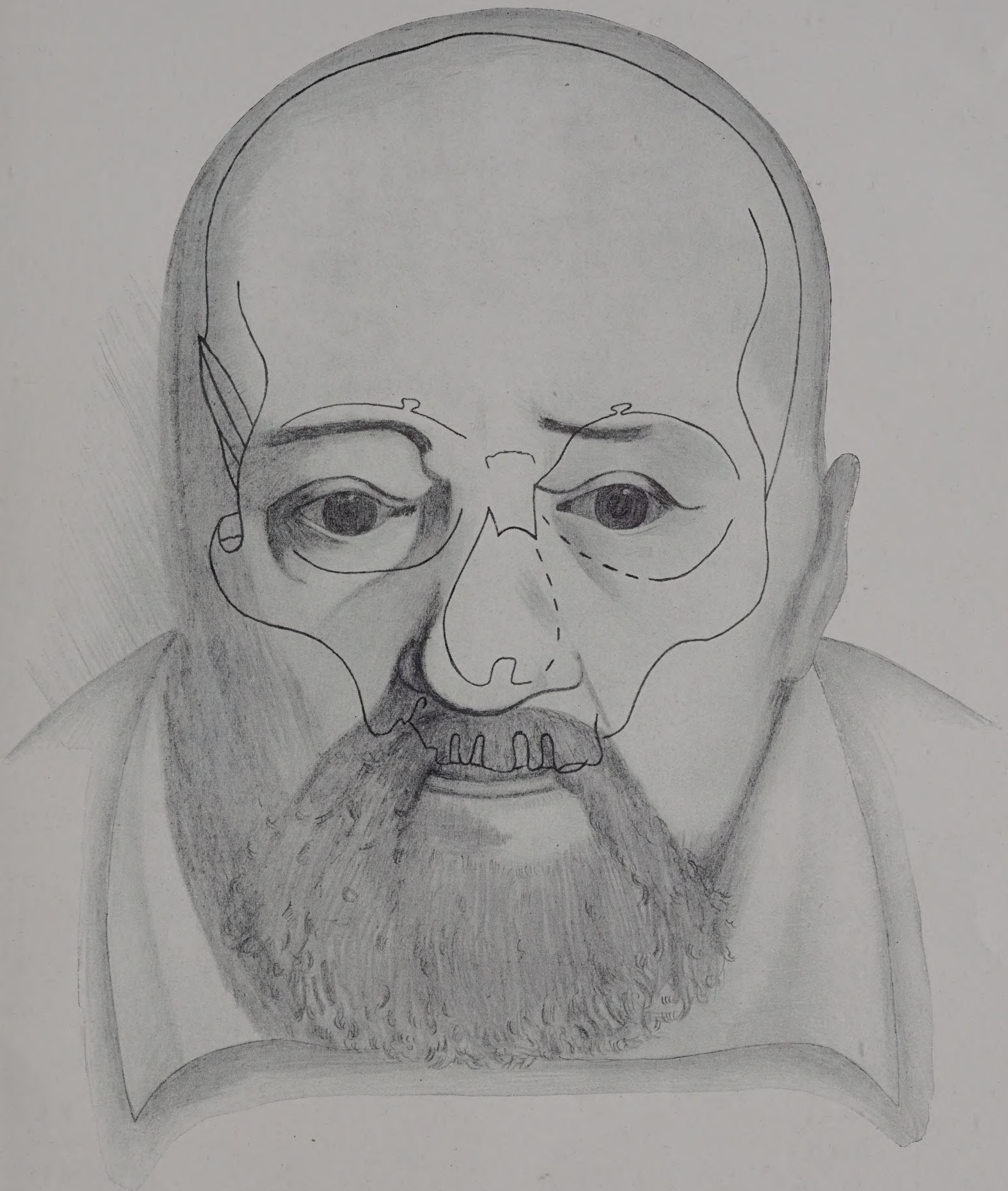
George Buchanan
SUPPOSED VANSOM



George Buchanan
TECHNICAL COLLEGE, GLASGOW



George Buchanan
NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY



George Buchanan
ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

